

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 NSC-10 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 2917

STATE FOR T/IEP

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ENRG, PINR, FR

SUBJECT: BIO REPORTING FOR ENERGY CONFERENCE

REF: STATE 013742

SUMMARY: IN ADDITION TO BIO SKETCHES OF KEY FRENCH ENERGY OFFICIALS, WE HAVE TRIED TO SKETCH BASIS INSTITUTIONAL AND ATTITUDINAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH FRENCH ENERGY POLICY SHAPED. END SUMMARY.

1. ALL SIGNIFICANT POLICY DECISIONS IN TODAY'S FRANCE ARE TAKEN AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL, WITH THE SUPPORT OF SELECTED KEY MINISTERS AND THE ELYSEE STAFF. THE GOF HAS LONG CONSIDERED ENERGY POLICY TO BE A QUESTION OF IMPORTANT NATIONAL INTEREST. THE CENTRAL LINES OF ITS POLICY ARE DECIDED AT A HIGH LEVEL AND COORDINATED IN THE CENTRAL PLANNING PROCESS; ONLY RELATIVELY ROUTINE DECISIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION ARE LEFT TO THE MINISTRIES. ADDED TO THIS CENTRIPETAL SYSTEM IS THE HIGH LEVEL OF CONSENSU AMONG FRENCH POLICYMAKERS (MOST OF WHOM ARE PRODUCTS OF THE GRANDES ECOLES, THOSE PRESTIGIOUS TRAINING GROUNDS FOR THE UPPER LEVEL BUREAUCRACY IN WHICH THE PHILOSOPHIES OF GOVERNMENTAL ECONOMIC PLANNING AND CONTROL ARE EMPHASIZED). MOREOVER, THE PRODUCTS OF THESE

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SCHOOLS FORM AN INFORMAL OLD-BOY NETWORK, THROUGH WHICH DISPUTES

CAN BE QUICKLY AND EASILY RESOLVED. THE RESULT IS A RELATIVE ABSENCE OF OPEN CONTROVERSY WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE BASIC GOALS AND MEANS OF FRENCH ENERGY (PARTICULARLY PETROLEUM) POLICY. IN PURSUIT OF ITS BASIC GOAL OF SECURE ENERGY SUPPLIES - NECESSARILY LARGELY IMPORTED - THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS SINCE THE 1920'S FOLLOWED A POLICY OF CLOSE GOVERNMENT CONTROL (OR OUTRIGHT OWNERSHIP) OF ENERGY INDUSTRIES AND DIRECT SPONSORSHIP OF FRENCH OIL INTERESTS OVERSEAS, PARTICULARLY, IN THE LAST DECADE, THE INTERESTS OF THE STATE OIL COMPANY. SET SINCE THE 1950'S IN A FRAMEWORK OF A PERVADING DISTRUST OF US ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND INTENTIONS, THIS HAS RESULTED IN A DETERMINATION TO FOLLOW AN ENERGY POLICY LARGELY INDEPENDENT BOTH OF THE US-DOMINATED OIL MAJORS, AND WHAT THE FRENCH HAVE SEEN AS THE AEC NUCLEAR MONOPOLY. THERE IS NO SIGNIFICANT DISAGREEMENT AMONG FRENCH POLICYMAKERS THAT THIS IS THE CORRECT GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR ENERGY POLICY.

2. ON QUESTIONS OF INTERNAL ENERGY POLICY, A NUMBER OF FRENCH MINISTERS PARTICIPATE WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE ELYSEE IN THE SHAPING OF DECISIONS. PRIME MINISTER MESSMER, MINISTER OF FINANCE GISCARD, ENERGY COMMISSIONER BLANCARD ARE THE PRIME ADVISORS, WHILE FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT IS INVOLVED THROUGH HIS EFFORTS TO ASSURE THAT FRANCE HAS STABLE SUPPLY OF IMPORTED OIL. THESE INTERNAL DECISIONS ARE ACCOMPANIED BY A CERTAIN DEGREE OF POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC MANEUVERING, AND SOME INTERDEPARTMENTAL FIGHTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (AND, SINCE ITS RECENT FORMATION, BLANCARD'S OFFICE) HAS CONSISTENTLY ARGUED FOR A HIGHER RATE OF RETURN TO THE OIL COMPANIES IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THEIR INVESTMENT CAPACITY, BUT HAS BEEN OVERRULED IN PAST BY THE POWERFUL MINISTER OF FINANCE. THE PM HAS INCREASED HIS ROLE THROUGH APPOINTMENT OF BLANCARD, WITH WHOM HE HAS CLOSE PERSONAL CONTACTS. BLANCARD, WITH THE PM'S BACKING AND GOAL REALIZATION THAT ENERGY PROBLEMS MUST BE DEALT WITH AT A HIGH LEVEL, HAS EFFECTIVELY TAKEN OVER CONTROL OF MOST DOMESTIC ENERGY POLICY QUESTIONS (AS WELL AS THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY BUREAUCRACY FOR DEALING WITH THEM). HE HAS BEEN LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR RECENT ENERGY ALLOCATION SCHEMES, CONSUMPTION-REDUCING PLANS, AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OIL INDUSTRY.

3. ON QUESTIONS OF FRANCE'S EXTERNAL ENERGY POLICY, HOWEVER,  
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THE MAJOR ELEMENTS HAVE APPARENTLY EMERGED THROUGH CLOSE CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE ELYSEE. GISCARD SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATING ON FRANCE'S DOMESTIC ECONOMIC ISSUES AND INTERNATIONAL MONETARY PROBLEMS; THE PM APPEARS TO HAVE PLAYED NO APPRECIABLE ROLE; AND BLANCARD REPORTEDLY HAS BEEN LEFT OUT OF MANY OF THE "POLITICAL LEVEL" DECISIONS. JOBERT AND HIS MINISTRY, HAVE -- IN CLOSE COORDINATION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE -- BEEN THE MAIN ORIGINATORS OF

FRANCE'S CURRENT RESPONSE TO ARAB OIL SUPPLIERS, THE EC, AND THE US ON ENERGY ISSUES. BASED ON A NARROW PURSUIT OF FRENCH NATIONAL INTERESTS, AND SUPPORTED BY A DEGREE OF SUSPICION IN THE ELYSEE OF US MOTIVES AND OF THE "ANGLO-SAXON" OIL COMPANIES, A HEAVILY POLITICAL POLICY TOWARD FRANCE'S ENERGY NEEDS HAS EMERGED FROM THE QUAI AND THE ELYSEE WHICH HAS THE TACIT OR REAL CONSENT OF THE REST OF THE GOF. ONLY IF THIS POLICY FALTERS OR RUNS INTO TROUBLE IS IT LIKELY THAT THE OTHER GOF OFFICES, SOME OF WHICH, LIKE GISCARD'S OR BLANCARD'S, ARE PROBABLY MORE OPEN TO IDEAS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE ENERGY FIELD, MIGHT STEP BACK IN AND OPEN A DEBATE ON FRANCE'S CURRENT GO-IT-ALONG POLICY. HOWEVER, THIS DEBATE WOULD, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE BE CONDUCTED CONFIDENTIALLY. ONLY IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT OF A BASIC SPLIT WOULD THE DEBATE BECOME PUBLIC.

4. BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF KEY ENERGY OFFICIALS FOLLOW:

A) FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MICHEL JOBERT - AN ARCHTYPAL SENIOR FRENCH CIVIL SERVANT, JOBERT IS TOTALLY DISCREET, INTELLIGENT AND UNFAILINGLY LOYAL TO POMPIDOU. HE HAS HAD IMMENSE INFLUENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT ON THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS DUE TO HIS PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESIDENT, HIS OFFICIAL POSITION, AND HIS PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE. KNOWLEDGEABLE IN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, JOBERT IS ALSO WELL INFORMED IN ECONOMIC MATTERS, INCLUDING FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY.

LITTLE IS KNOWN OF HIS OWN PERSONAL POLITICAL IDEAS. HE WAS AT ONE TIME CLOSE TO FOURTH REPUBLIC RADICAL PREMIER MENDES-FRANCE AND HAS MAINTAINED GOOD RELATIONS WITH MENDES AND OTHER SIMILAR LEFT AND CENTER POLITICIANS. HOWEVER, HIS LOYALTY TO POMPIDOU IS ABSOLUTE AND THE APPROACH HE TAKES TO FOREIGN CONFIDENTIAL

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POLICY QUESTIONS IS THAT OF POMPIDOU: THE CONCERN OVER AMERICAN ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL POWER COMBINED WITH A DESIRE FOR CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE US, AN EMPHASIS ON THE PRESERVATION OF AN INDEPENDENT FRANCE, THE CONCERN OVER THE MONETARY AND ENERGY CRISIS, A  
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TO US POSITIONS SEEMS MORE SYSTEMATIC THAN THEIRS. ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO APPRECIABLE DIFFERENCE IN THE VIEWS OF KEY FRENCH OFFICIALS ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS, BRUNET IS, IF ANYTHING, MORE UNCOMPROMISINGLY NATIONALISTIC THAN MOST. HE IS CONVINCED THAT FRANCE MUST SEEK TO TAKE CARE OF ITS OWN NEEDS THROUGH BI-LATERAL GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS WITH THE PRODUCERS. HE ASSERTS THAT THERE IS NO RISK THAT BI-LATERAL DEALS WILL BID UP PRICES, WHEREAS A COORDINATED APPROACH TO THE PRODUCERS RISKS ANTAGONIZING THEM, THUS ENDANGERING RATHER THAN ASSURING SUPPLIES. ALTHOUGH HIS VIEWS ARE IN SHARP ANTITHESIS TO OUR OWN, BRUNET DISCUSSES THESE DIFFERENCES IN CONVERSATIONS WITH US OFFICIALS WITH ENGAGING CHARM AND IN FLAWLESS AND HIGHLY EXPRESSIVE ENGLISH.

JEAN PIERRE CABOUAT - 52, A CAREER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, IS BRUNET'S DEPUTY FOR GENERAL AFFAIRS (E.G. ENERGY, TRANSPORTAION, CIVIL AVIATION). HE SERVED AS FIRST SECRETARY, THEN AS COUNSELOR (DCM) AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON FROM 1966-1970. HE HAS BEEN IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AT THE QUAI SINCE JUNE OF 1970. CABOUAT PLANS TO ACCOMPANY FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT ON HIS SECOND TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST CURRENTLY SCHEDULED FOR EARLY FEBRUARY. CABOUAT IS AN ABLE AND INTELLIGENT OFFICIAL WHOSE ROLE IS LESS THAT OF FORMULATOR THAN OF AN EXECUTOR OF POLICY. HE HEWS CLOSELY TO THE OFFICIAL LINE BUT IS MODERATE  
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AND UNDOGMATIC IN HIS DEFENSE OF IT. HE HAS ALWAYS HAD EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH EMBASSY OFFICIALS WHO DEAL WITH HIM AND MAINTAINS A FRIENDLY AND COURTEOUS MANNER EVEN WHEN DISCUSSING THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUES. HIS ENGLISH IS SOMEWHAT HALTING.

-- IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS CAREER DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS APPOINTED THROUGHOUT THE FRENCH ENERGY POLICY APPARATUS IN "LIAISON" POSITIONS THROUGH WHICH THE QUAI'S POLICY LINE CAN BE EXPRESSED, AND CONFLICTS OF OPINION WORKED OUT. OFFICERS ARE ASSIGNED TO BOTH OIL COMPANIES, AS

WELL AS TO THE FUELS OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY (MARCEL MAITRE).

B. PRESIDENT'S OFFICE (ELYSEE)

IN VIEW OF ITS IMPORTANCE FOR NATIONAL POLICY, THE ENERGY PROBLEM IS DEALT WITH AT ALL LEVELS OF THE ELYSEE FROM THE PRESIDENT ON DOWN. THE TWO OFFICIALS ON THE ELYSEE STAFF MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEM ARE BERNARD ESAMBERT, WHO DEALS WITH THE INDUSTRIAL ASPECTS, AND FREYCHE, WHO DEALS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL, PARTICULARLY MONETARY AND ECONOMIC, ASPECTS.

MICHEL FREYCHE - HE REPLACED JEAN-RENE BERNARD AS ELYSEE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ADVISOR IN 1973. FREYCHE IS 44 YEARS OLD, A GRADUATE OF ENA AND AN INSPECTEUR DES FINANCES (THE ELITE CORPS WITHIN THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION). HE SERVED IN THE CABINET OF MICHEL DEBRE FROM 1966 TO 1968 WHEN DEBRE WAS MINISTER OF FINANCE. FROM 1968 UNTIL 1973, HE WAS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AT THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE. FREYCHE IS FRIENDLY AND ACCESSIBLE TO AMERICANS. HE IS, HOWEVER, BLUNT AND OUTSPOKEN IN HIS CRITICISM OF US POLICIES, PARTICULARLY US MONETARY POLICY.

BERNARD ESAMBERT - 38, TECHNICAL COUNCILLOR AT THE ELYSEE, IS A GRADUATE OF THE ECOLE POLYTECHNIQUE AND AN ENGINEER BY PROFESSION. HE FOLLOWS INDUSTRIAL AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS, AND IS REGARDED AS RISING STAR IN FRENCH ADMINISTRATION. HE REPORTEDLY HAS VERY CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH HIS COUNTERPARTS ON GISCARD D'ESTAING'S AND MESSMER'S STAFFS. AT THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY FROM 1964-1967, HE WAS CONCERNED WITH ENERGY PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY THE REFINING AND USE OF PETROLEUM. WE UNDERSTAND THAT ESAMBERT MAY LEAVE THE PRESIDENCY SOON TO BE REPLACED BY  
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ALAIN BRION, WHO WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF FUELS AT THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY.

C. DIRECTORATE OF ENERGY/MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY

JEAN BLANCARD - 59, A MINING AND METALLURGICAL ENGINEER BY PROFESSION, WAS APPOINTED AS DIRECTOR OF GOF'S NEW OFFICE OF ENERGY IN DECEMBER 1973, A POSITION HE REPORTEDLY OWES TO HIS CLOSE RELATIONS WITH PM MESSMER. HE HAS A REPUTATION AS A FORCEFUL AND INNOVATIVE ADMINISTRATOR, AND HAS ALREADY MADE HIS MARK IN THE ENERGY FIELD IN SPITE OF THE UNCERTAIN LINES OF AUTHORITY GRANTED HIS POSITION BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. A GRADUATE OF THE ECOLE POLYTECHNIQUE, HE HAS BEEN MUCH CONCERNED WITH PETROLEUM AND ENERGY MATTERS, HAVING SERVED AS DIRECTOR OF THE FUELS OFFICE AT THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (1951-1959); AN ADMINISTRATOR OF GAZ DE FRANCE (1959-1969); PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE RESEARCH AND USE OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS (1961), A MEMBER OF SEVERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES TO THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, AND ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF MINES SINCE 1969. FROM 1961-1965 HE SERVED AS A VICE PRESIDENT OF RENAULT,

GOVERNMENT-OWNED FRENCH AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURER AND WAS  
MINISTER DELEGATE FOR ARMAMENTS (SALESMAN FOR FRENCH ARMS) 1968-  
1973. WHILE THE S  
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## Message Attributes

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